

INEBRIETY IN BOSTON

BY

MAURICE PARMELEE

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty of Political
Science, Columbia University.

NEW YORK

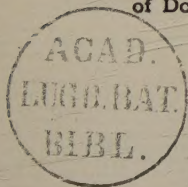
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PREFACE.

The following pages contain a report of an investigation of inebriety in Boston made by the writer from November, 1907, to September, 1908, for the Russell Sage Foundation. The investigation was carried on under the auspices and as a part of the work of the Research Department of the Boston School for Social Workers.

I wish to thank Professor C. W. Doten, head of the Research Department, for advice and assistance given at every stage of the investigation and of the writing of this report, and Professor F. H. Giddings, of Columbia University, for suggestions and criticisms made during the revision of the manuscript.

MAURICE PARMELEE.

New York, April, 1909.

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INEBRIETY IN BOSTON

INTRODUCTION.

The study of inebriety, like the study of every social evil, has many aspects. It has its biological and psychological as well as its economic, political, and other social aspects. On account of its pathological character it is frequently of interest to the neurologist and alienist. It is therefore evident that in the course of a single investigation made by a single individual it would not be possible to cover the whole of the subject of inebriety. In fact, no single individual could very well, in the course of an indefinite number of investigations, study all the varied aspects of inebriety, for he could not possess all of the special knowledge necessary for so complete a study.

Furthermore, it is just as well to limit an investigation to a single aspect, for by so doing it can be made the most inductive in its character. When an investigation covers more than one field, impressions gained in one field are likely to influence those gained in another field. It is therefore well that the data being gathered should not be affected by any such extraneous influences, and should be subjected so far as possible to the statistical method, which is the inductive method *par excellence*. The investigator should, however, be fully conscious of the fact that he is covering but a portion of the whole subject, and should expect that the results of his investigation will go with those of other investigations to furnish a basis for a synthetic treatment of the whole subject.

It now goes without saying that the investigation, of which the following is a report, covered but a small portion of the subject of inebriety. It was, in fact, a study of individual cases of inebriety in so far as such a study could be made by means of personal interviews, without any medical

or other examination. These interviews were not always with the inebriates themselves, but in some cases with persons closely connected and well acquainted with them. All had been arrested for drunkenness, most of them very recently, while many of them had been committed to penal institutions. It is therefore evident that only one class of inebriates was dealt with in the course of this investigation, namely, those who become involved in the machinery of the penal law. Those inebriates who, on account of their social position or for any other reason, are never arrested, could not be reached by such an investigation. This may seem to be a very narrow limitation. It is, however, much less so in Massachusetts than in many other states and countries, on account of the stringent character of the Massachusetts law with regard to drunkenness. Whereas in most penal jurisdictions only certain acts which result from drunkenness, such as disorderly conduct, and assault and battery, are considered criminal, while drunkenness is no crime, in Massachusetts drunkenness is a crime. The consequence is that a much larger variety of inebriates is arrested than elsewhere. Not only the inebriates who are also criminals are arrested, but also many who are only inebriates, without being criminal, since drunkenness can at the most be considered no more than quasi-criminal. This investigation was therefore in large part a study of the penal aspect of drunkenness in Boston; this aspect, however, being much broader there than it is in most places.

It would have been well to extend this investigation to all classes of inebriates. But this was not practicable, since it was not possible to subject the other classes to being interviewed, while a certain amount of coercive power could be used over those with a penal record. Furthermore, this was the most important class to investigate since inebriety of this class furnishes the most serious menace to society. To be sure, it is sometimes contended that inebriety in the upper classes is a greater evil because these classes set the example and furnish the leaders for society. This, however, may be questioned. In any case, more can be done to

prevent inebriety in the lower classes, and more persons who are not inebriates are affected by inebriety and are therefore in need of aid and protection. We may therefore feel assured that in studying the penal aspect of inebriety we are attacking the problem of inebriety at its most important point, though its penal aspect is by no means the whole of the problem.

METHOD OF INVESTIGATION.

About six hundred and fifty cases were investigated, the great majority of whom were men. Too few female cases were investigated to subject them to the statistical method with satisfactory results, but these were of great value not only for the study of female inebriety, but also on account of the light many of them threw upon the relations between male and female inebriety.

The investigation was carried on through the eight municipal and district criminal courts in the city of Boston. Of these courts five were visited, while statistics were secured with regard to the other three. The five courts visited were the Central, Roxbury, South Boston and Charlestown municipal courts and the East Boston district court. Through lack of time the Dorchester, West Roxbury and Brighton municipal courts were not visited. These courts being in suburban parts of the city the conditions prevailing in their districts are somewhat rural, thus differing essentially from the urban conditions prevailing in all the court districts visited. Furthermore, the number of cases of drunkenness arraigned in these courts is very small.

Each case investigated was recorded upon a schedule, or blank form, upon which were printed seventy-seven questions. It was not possible to secure answers to all these questions in any one case. In fact, some questions proved to be practically useless since no satisfactory information could be gained. But it was possible in most of the cases to get answers to the most important questions. The questions were grouped in the following six sections: Questions with regard to birth, parentage, conjugal condition, education, occupation, etc.; questions with regard to habits of drink; the family record; the public record; the special institution record; and the record after last discharge. In most cases it was not possible to secure much information with regard to the family record. The special institution record was not used at all. In the section with regard to the record after last discharge only one ques-

tion was used, namely, the one with regard to the pledge. But very full information was usually secured in answer to most of the questions in the three remaining sections, and as these sections included fifty-five of the total number of seventy-seven questions, most of the schedule proved to be of utility. It was inevitable that some of the questions should prove to be useless, since the schedule was devised before the investigation commenced, and there was no pattern upon which it could be modeled.

The first court visited was the Roxbury court, where a little more than six weeks was spent. The method of investigation was as follows: As a rule the forenoon was spent at the court. As many as possible of those arraigned for drunkenness were interviewed before court in their cells, during intervals of the court session, and after court in the courtroom, and in the office of the probation officer. From four to seven every Friday afternoon the probation officer received reports from those on probation, and these hours were spent each week in interviewing as many as possible of those who were on probation for drunkenness. The session of the court, during which the drunkenness cases were tried, was attended each day in order to study the procedure and the policy of the judges in dealing with these cases.

Each day a list of those released from the station house and of some of those on probation, with their home addresses, was secured from the probation officer, and after the work at the courthouse was finished, the rest of the day was spent in paying visits to some of these homes. Frequently the subject of the investigation was not at home, in which case the person most closely connected and best acquainted with him, or with her, was interviewed, this person usually being a wife or mother. This interview was, of course, in many ways not as satisfactory as with the subject of the investigation; but, on the other hand, by means of such an interview it was possible frequently to get a view of the case somewhat different from that of the subject himself, or herself. In fact, sometimes it was pos-

sible in this way to see the other side of the shield, namely, where the subject would tend to conceal the extent of his or her habit of drinking, and the evil results from it, but where another person would reveal these facts. Furthermore, by means of these visits it was possible to get some idea of the homes and the social environment of the inebriates investigated. In the course of the investigation in Roxbury the whole of the district was more or less thoroughly covered and a general idea of social conditions in Roxbury was gained, as well as of the distribution of inebriety in that district. A number of female cases were investigated in Roxbury.

The method of investigation at the other courts was much the same as at Roxbury, though differences in the local conditions necessitated certain changes in the method which will be described.

The second court visited was the Central court, where about seven weeks were spent. Here it was not possible to interview cases in the cells, and much of the interviewing had to be done in the courtroom while the court was in session. This, however, was a very awkward method, since it was necessary to talk very low, and as many as possible of the cases were taken to the office of the probation officer or into vacant courtrooms to be interviewed. Here again, as in Roxbury, the court procedure and the policy of the judges were studied and the afternoons were spent as a rule in visiting homes, thus getting acquainted with social conditions in the district covered by the Central court and with the distribution of drunkenness in this district. No female cases were investigated at this court because female "drunks" are tried in a different division of this court from the male "drunks."

The third court visited was the South Boston court, where four weeks were spent. Here all the cases interviewed at the courthouse were interviewed in their cells, usually after the court was over. As in the other districts, the procedure and policy of the judges were studied, homes were visited, and the social conditions and distribution of

drunkenness in the district were studied. A few female cases were investigated.

The next court visited was the Charlestown court, where a little more than two weeks were spent. The method of the investigation was about the same as at the other courts, the cases interviewed at the courthouse being interviewed in the courtroom before and after the sessions of the court. No female cases were investigated at this court.

The last court visited was the East Boston court, where two weeks were spent. The method of investigation was the same as at Charlestown. A few female cases were investigated.

A difficulty which accompanied the investigation everywhere was the necessity usually of interviewing cases in the presence of others. This was true at the cells, where almost invariably there were several persons in each cell. It was true in the courtrooms where always there were others in the room. It was true frequently at the homes where the other members of the family or friends were likely to be present. This lack of privacy placed a restraint upon the investigator in asking questions, and upon the subject of the investigation in answering them. Even where the investigator had the full confidence of the subject he could not secure all the details he wanted because of the publicity of the surroundings, while in most of the cases where he did not have this full confidence he could have gained it under strictly private conditions. The frequent need for haste also was a great restriction. The ideal method would have been where the interviewing could have been carried on in complete privacy without any need for haste on either side. In this way the investigator could, with the use of tact and sympathy in the course of a conversation more or less prolonged, have learned many details of great significance. He could have discovered causes for the conduct of the subject which would otherwise be hidden. However, the use of such a method would probably never be practicable.

The investigator was fairly well received at all the

courts he visited, though in some of them less sympathy was shown for the object of his investigation than in others, and restrictions were placed upon him which lessened considerably the effectiveness of his investigation in those courts.

On account of lack of time it was not possible to investigate all the cases at any one of the courts visited. It may be contended that for this reason the cases investigated were selected cases. If this were true it would, of course, vitiate greatly the value of the statistical method in dealing with these cases. It is, however, not true, because no principle of selection was followed. On the contrary, cases were taken as they came, and in the course of the investigation all types were adequately represented.

POPULATION.

The limits of four of the eight court districts covered by this investigation do not entirely coincide with ward lines. It is therefore possible to give the population of some of those districts only approximately. In table I the figures for 1905 are those of the Massachusetts state census of that year; those for 1900 are taken from the United States census, and the others are estimated.

TABLE I.

Approximate Population of Court Districts from Massachusetts State Census, 1905.

Central (Wards 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12).....	166,428
Roxbury (Wards 16, 17, 18, 19, 21).....	124,104
South Boston (Wards 13, 14, 15).....	64,091
Charlestown (Wards 3, 4, 5).....	39,983
East Boston (Wards 1, 2 and Winthrop).....	58,368
Dorchester (Wards 20, 24).....	73,455
West Roxbury (Wards 22, 23).....	54,179
Brighton (Ward 25).....	21,806
Total	602,414
 Boston	 595,380
Winthrop	7,034
 Total	 602,414

The Central court district includes all of old Boston, namely, the north, west and south ends, and the region of the Back Bay. It includes all of wards 6, 7, 8, 9 and 12, and so large a part of each of wards 10 and 11 as to warrant the inclusion of these wards in the population of this court district. The Roxbury court district covers approximately old Roxbury, and lies to the south and west of the Central court district. It includes all of wards 17, 18, 19 and 21, the smaller part of each of wards 10, 11 and 22, and the larger part of ward 16, which ward is therefore included in the population of this court district. The South Boston court district includes wards 13, 14 and 15, and the smaller part of ward 16. The Charlestown court district includes all of wards 3, 4 and 5. The East Boston court district includes wards 1 and 2, and the town of Winthrop. The Dorchester court district includes wards 20 and 24. The West Roxbury court district includes ward 23 and the larger part of ward 22, and this ward is therefore included in this court district. The Brighton court district includes ward 25. Our table, therefore, gives the population of the Central, Roxbury, South Boston and West Roxbury districts approximately, and of the other districts exactly. The total population of these districts equals the combined populations of the city of Boston and the town of Winthrop.

DRUNKENNESS AND OTHER CRIMES IN BOSTON.

Table II gives the arrests for drunkenness and for other crimes in Boston during the past ten years, the figures being taken from the annual reports of the Board of Prison Commissioners.

There is much variation in these figures. From 26,394 arrests in 1898 the number decreases to 18,886 in 1902, from which point it rises to 36,705 in 1907. The variation is shown even more strikingly in the figures for the number of arrests per 1,000 of population. These fig-

TABLE II.

ARRESTS FOR DRUNKENNESS AND FOR OTHER CRIMES IN BOSTON.

Year ending Sept. 30.	Number of Arrests.			Aggregates.†			Arrests per 1,000 of population.			Drunkenness‡— per cent of total.
	For drunkenness.*	For other crimes.	Total	Male	Female	Total	Drunken- ness, total..	Other crimes, total	Aggregate total	
1898..	23,535	2,859	26,394	11,442	1,762	13,204	34,977	4,621	39,598	49.3
1899..	21,473	2,794	24,267	11,562	1,832	13,394	33,035	4,626	37,661	44.4
1900..	16,959	2,541	19,500	11,549	1,759	13,308	28,508	4,300	32,808	34.8
1901..	16,971	2,585	19,556	11,762	1,768	13,530	28,733	4,353	33,086	34.4
1902..	16,385	2,501	18,886	11,377	1,683	13,060	27,762	4,184	31,946	32.9
1903..	22,911	3,090	26,001	12,083	1,736	13,819	34,994	4,826	39,820	44.7
1904..	29,535	3,550	33,085	11,694	1,632	13,326	41,229	5,182	46,411	56.2
1905..	28,989	3,631	32,620	11,610	1,524	13,134	40,599	5,155	45,754	54.8
1906..	28,870	3,466	32,336	12,292	1,875	14,167	41,162	5,341	46,503	53.6
1907..	32,959	3,746	36,705	14,568	1,825	16,393	47,527	5,571	53,098	60.3
										66.6
										64.5
										59.4
										59.2
										59.2
										65.3
										71.3
										71.3
										77.2
										69.5
										87.1
										69.2

*Total, male and female—269,350. †Total, male and female—406,685. ‡Average per cent of totals—66.2.

ures show that in 1898 this number was 49.3. In 1902 it had dropped to 32.9. In 1907 it had risen to 60.3. These figures, however, give no accurate indication of the amount of drunkenness in Boston during these years, for other forces enter in to change the number of arrests, such as changes in the vigilance of the police force in Boston, changes in the Massachusetts law with regard to drunkenness, changes in the license regulations of neighboring towns, etc.

The Mayor's Advisory Committee on the Penal Aspects of Drunkenness gives in its report published in 1899 a table of arrests for drunkenness in Boston, 1889-1898. This table shows that a decrease in the number of arrests commenced in 1897, which, as our table shows, continued until 1902. In attempting to account for the decrease indicated in its table the committee speaks as follows in this report: "Signs of a recent change in the public sentiment alluded to are more or less consciously reflected in the work of the police, who, without relaxing their vigilance, seem to act more frequently than before on the theory that it is wiser to help respectable-looking offenders to their homes, when this can be done with safety, than to lock them up. The probation system may in part be responsible for the indicated change in public sentiment, since under it the wisdom of releasing conditionally or unconditionally nearly all first offenders is becoming more and more evident." (City Document 158, Boston, 1899, p. 7.) This reason may account, at least in part, for the decrease continued until 1902. But in 1903 the number of arrests rises to 26,001, and the number of arrests per 1,000 of population to 44.7. The principal reason for this sudden increase seems to have been the appointment of Judge Emmons as President of the Board of Police Commissioners, who took office May 4, 1903, and remained in office until June, 1906. In an interview with the writer Judge Emmons stated that, on account of complaints of disturbances caused in street cars and elsewhere by drunken men, he issued strict orders immediately after taking office that all drunken men should be arrested at sight.

These orders caused a great increase in the number of arrests, which continued in 1904, when the number of arrests was 33,085, or 56.2 per 1,000 of population. In 1905 and 1906 there was a slight decrease in the number of arrests. In 1907 the number rose to 36,705, or 60.3 per 1,000 inhabitants. This increase may have been caused in part by the going into effect of Chapter 384 of the Acts of 1905, which gives the probation officers the power to release from the station house. Under this law the probation officers in the eight Boston courts released 12,460 in 1906, and 16,453 in 1907. The knowledge that probation officers have this power of release probably leads policemen to arrest in some cases in which they would not otherwise make arrests because they know that the probation officers will release the prisoners from the station house.

The figures for the number of arrests for other crimes remain fairly constant, with the exception of the last two years. In 1906 the number rose to 14,167 from 13,134 in 1905, or from 22.1 per 1,000 of population in 1905 to 23.8 in 1906. In 1907 it rose to 16,393, or 26.8 per 1,000 of population.

The percentage that the arrests for drunkenness form of the total number of arrests ranges from 59.2 in 1901 and 1902 to 71.3 in 1904 and 1905. The percentage for the ten years is 66.2, or nearly two-thirds.

Table III is taken from the reports in the office of the Board of Prison Commissioners.

Application was made to this board for statistics with regard to the cases of drunkenness arraigned in the Boston courts during the past ten years. It was found that the reports received from the different courts up to the past year had been destroyed, and as the figures in these reports are not given in full, or even summarized, in the reports of the Board, it was impossible to secure such statistics from that source except for the year ending September 30, 1907. From the reports of the eight lower criminal courts have been gleaned the figures given in this table. These figures are with regard to cases of drunkenness begun

TABLE III.

Total number of criminal cases and defendants in lower courts of Boston during year ending Sept. 30, 1907.																			
Cases		Ratio of cases per 1,000 of population.		Sentences suspended.		Fine (without imprisonment)		Jail or House of Correction		State Farm.		Disposition of cases of persons convicted.		Disposition of cases before trial.		Defendants brought to trial.		Cases begun during year.	
Defendants.	Cases	Ratio of cases per 1,000 of population.	Sentences suspended.	Fine (without imprisonment)	Jail or House of Correction	State Farm.	Placed on probation.	Placed on file or dismissed.	Sentenced.	Released by probation officer.	Released by court without arraignment.	Placed on file or dismissed.	Defendants brought to trial.	Cases begun during year.	Defendants brought to trial.	Cases begun during year.	Defendants brought to trial.	Cases begun during year.	
28,885	15,690	147	...	4,444	1,080	44	74	1,812	1,834	4,613	12,969	11,486	24,471	28,885	15,690	147	...	28,885	15,690
4,638	2,961	28	...	748	44	17	120	707	707	1,003	53.1	46.9	3,477	4,638	2,961	28	...	4,638	2,961
3,695	2,428	44	...	723	6.8	66	6.5	20.3	416	1,212	1,092	1,630	2,739	3,695	2,428	44	...	3,695	2,428
3,262	3,048	69	...	968	14.9	4	82	22.4	1,290	1,172	6.3	60.8	2,739	3,262	3,048	69	...	3,262	3,048
1,939	1,837	22	...	35.2	7.1	5	82	2.9	46.9	42.7	12	176	2,739	1,939	1,837	22	...	1,939	1,837
11.9	156	156	...	402	109	13	17.5	9.3	122	611	318	38.2	1,307	E. Boston District.	402	11.9	...	E. Boston District.	402
1.275	850	13	...	460	39	1.3	18	3.3	46.7	516	24.3	415	986	Dorchester Municipal.	460	1.275	...	Dorchester Municipal.	460
1,380	809	14	...	349	40	1.2	21	3.4	37	52.3	3	42.1	771	W. Roxbury Municipal.	349	1,380	...	W. Roxbury Municipal.	349
746	731	25	...	45.3	74	30	2.7	4.8	157	435	0.4	58.5	544	Brighton Municipal.	45.3	746	...	Brighton Municipal.	45.3
66.4	6.1	...	...	307	33	5.3	46	28.9	370	68.0	...	0.2	99.7	Per cent.	66.4	6.1	...	Per cent.	66.4
226	5,037	62	226	13.5	3,647	3.3	6.9	12.4	2,552	9,932	278	3,326	3,326	Totals	20,513	3,326	...	Totals	37,110
57.4	37.110	...	0.6	13.5	9.8	...	...	...	...	...	0.7	9.0	9.0	Per cent.	55.3	9.0	...	Per cent.	55.3

*The number of cases begun during the year does not correspond with the number of cases disposed of because some cases are carried over from one year to another. This accounts for certain apparent discrepancies in this table.

during the year, defendants brought to trial, disposition of cases before trial, and of cases of persons convicted and sentenced. For purposes of comparison the figures for the total number of criminal cases and defendants in these courts are given.

It is a noticeable fact that the Central court has nearly twice as many cases of drunkenness as all the other courts put together, notwithstanding the fact that it has less than a third of the total population of the area covered by these courts. The number of arrests per thousand of population in this court district is 147. The people of this district are not, however, as heavy drinkers as this number would indicate. As a matter of fact, this district includes probably both the most intemperate and the most temperate classes in the city. In the north and west ends are a large number of Jews and Italians who are very temperate, while there are very few arrests for drunkenness in the Back Bay region. On the other hand, the lodging-house population of the south end is responsible for a good deal of heavy drinking. In the South Cove district there is a large poor class of people who drink very heavily, and in the vicinity of Cambridge street in the west end is a similar class. These population groups account in part for the high rate of arrests in the Central court district. But the principal reasons for this high rate are in the first place that in this district are grouped most of the theatres, cafés and other places of amusement which are naturally accompanied by many drinking places. In the second place, the great majority of those who come into Boston from out of town to drink do their drinking in this district.

In this connection it may be well to give a few figures with regard to the number of arrests for drunkenness of non-residents in Boston. The Police Commissioner, in his annual report for the year ending November 30, 1907, states that for the year ending July 1, 1907, the arrests for drunkenness were 35,728. Of these, 408 were seamen, 1,557 had homes outside of the state, 2,454 had no homes, and 11,528 came from 190 Massachusetts cities and towns outside of

Boston. These form a total of 15,947, which he calls non-resident arrests. It is quite probable that some of the seamen belong in Boston, and that a considerable number of those without homes belong here also, so that it is not quite accurate to include all of these under the head of non-resident arrests. However, these figures show that at least one-third of the arrests for drunkenness in Boston during that year were non-resident.

The Commissioner also states that the number of non-residents arrested exceeded the number of residents arrested in the following police divisions:

- Division 1. Hanover street.
- Division 2. Court street.
- Division 3. Joy street.
- Division 4. La Grange street.
- Division 14. Brighton.

The first four of these divisions are in the Central court district, which fact indicates the large number of non-residents arrested in this district. The last division is in the Brighton court district.

The Commissioner also gives the figures of the number of arrests of persons from each of the cities and towns in Massachusetts which contribute the largest number, from which we quote the following:

Cambridge, 2,100; Somerville, 975; Quincy, 869; Malden, 567; Everett, 516; Newton, 405; Chelsea, 384; Waltham, 341; Brookline, 336.

Charlestown has the second highest rate of arrests, the number being 69 per 1,000. This high rate is due in part to a large number of persons in this district who drink heavily. These persons are distributed in the main around the edge of the district, along the line of the elevated railroad and along Chelsea and Medford streets. The higher central part of the district, on the contrary, in the vicinity of the Bunker Hill Monument and back of it, is comparatively free from drunkenness. But the large number of arrests in Charlestown as in the Central court district is caused by the drinking done by persons from outside of

Boston. Somerville, which is contiguous to Charlestown, furnishes many of these persons. Many "dry" towns such as Malden and Everett in the near vicinity also send many persons into Charlestown to drink. Furthermore, the main thoroughfare from Boston to most of the towns north of Boston passes through Charlestown. The consequence is that a good many who have become drunk elsewhere are arrested in Charlestown on their way home. Many of these arrests take place at the car terminal at Sullivan Square, and at City Square.

South Boston has the next highest rate of arrests, the number being 44 per 1,000. South Boston is not frequented by many out of town persons, and no main thoroughfare passes through it. Most of these arrests must therefore be of persons belonging to this district. Consequently, if the number of arrests is any indication of the extent of drunkenness, South Boston has in all probability the heaviest drinking population of any of the eight districts under consideration. However, as we have already stated the number of arrests is no accurate measure of the amount of drunkenness, since many other forces cause this number to vary. Most of the drunkenness in South Boston is in the section west of Dorchester street. In the higher section to the east the drunkenness is much less.

In Roxbury the number of arrests per 1,000 is 28. Most of these cases are from Roxbury, though the car terminal at Dudley street and the transfer station at Roxbury Crossing cause a certain number of arrests of out-of-town persons. Most of the drunkenness is north of Dudley street, while in the higher section to the south the drunkenness is much less.

In Brighton the number of arrests per 1,000 is 25. Since this court was not visited no special reason can be given for this rate of arrests, though it is probably due to a large percentage of non-resident arrests, as indicated by the fact heretofore noted that in the Brighton police division there are more arrests of non-residents than of residents.

The number of arrests per 1,000 in East Boston is

22. Drunkenness is distributed more or less all over this district, though there is more of it probably near the docks, and less in the higher section in the northeastern part of the district.

The numbers of arrests per 1,000 in Dorchester and West Roxbury are 13 and 14, respectively. These low rates are probably due to the suburban character of these districts. Furthermore, many inhabitants of these districts get arrested for drunkenness in the central part of the city.

Of cases begun during the year 45.6 per cent were disposed of before trial. As a matter of fact, most of these were released by the probation officer, but there is no uniformity among the different courts in reporting these cases, so that they are reported under several headings. The largest percentage was in the Central court, where 53.1 per cent. of the cases begun were released by the probation officer. The principal reason for this probably is the large number of cases arraigned each day in this court, which leads the probation officers to release as many as possible in order to relieve the pressure on the court. Furthermore, many of these cases of drunkenness are from out of town, and it is the tendency of the probation officers to release these as frequently as possible, in order to get them out of Boston.

Of the total number of cases 26.7 per cent. were sentenced. The lowest percentage of sentences was in the Central court, where it was only 18.7 per cent. This was probably due in part to the large number of cases in this court which are disposed of before trial. The percentage of sentences tends to rise as the number of cases in each court grows smaller.

There were placed on file or dismissed after trial 12.4 per cent of the total number of cases. There were placed on probation 6.9 per cent of the total. The lowest percentage was in the Dorchester court, where only 1.8 per cent. were placed on probation. The highest percentage was in the East Boston court, where 17.5 per cent. were placed on probation.

We have given in our table the three forms of sentences which are principally used in cases of drunkenness.

In 3.3 per cent. of the total number of cases the prisoners were sent to the State Farm. In 9.8 per cent of the cases they were sent to jail or to the House of Correction. The lowest percentage was in the Dorchester court where it was 4 per cent., and the highest percentage was in the East Boston court, where it was 15.5 per cent. In 13.5 per cent. of the cases a fine without imprisonment was imposed. There was great variation in the use of this form of sentence. The use of it tended to increase as the number of cases in each court grew smaller. In the Central court, which had the largest number of cases, the percentage of the total was 4.4. In the Brighton court, which had the smallest number of cases the percentage of the total was 56.4.

Suspension of sentence was used only in the East Boston and West Roxbury courts. It was used in 0.6 per cent. of the total number of cases.

The reports returned by these courts give no indication of how many individual defendants are arraigned each year before each court. These figures would be very valuable as showing the amount of recidivism in drunkenness, and the reports would be still more valuable if the defendants were grouped according to the number of times each defendant had been brought to trial during the year.

DISTRIBUTION OF CASES INVESTIGATED.

Table IV, dealing with the cases investigated, shows the distribution of the 616 male cases investigated among the five courts visited.

TABLE IV.
Distribution of Cases.

Courts—	Number.	Color			
		White		Black	
		Number.	Per Ct.	Number.	Per Ct.
Roxbury	214	212	99.1	2	.9
Central	180	174	96.7	6	3.3
South Boston	100	100	100.0	..	..
Charlestown	64	64	100.0	..	..
East Boston	58	58	100.0	..	..
Totals	616	608	98.7	8	1.3

It also shows that only eight, or 1.3 per cent of these cases were black. The United States Census for 1900 shows that 2.1 per cent of the Boston male population is black.

CONJUGAL CONDITION AND AGE GROUPING.

Table V shows the conjugal condition of the male cases distributed by courts.

TABLE V.

Conjugal Condition.

Court—	Num- ber.	Per Ct.	Married.		Widowed.		Divorced.		Single.	
			Num- ber.	Per Ct.	Num- ber.	Per Ct.	Num- ber.	Per Ct.	Num- ber.	Per Ct.
Roxbury	214	34.8	92	42.9	20	9.4	1	.5	101	47.2
Central	180	29.2	71	39.4	21	11.7	0	.0	88	48.9
South Boston ..	100	16.2	36	36.0	8	8.0	2	2.0	54	54.0
Charlestown ..	64	10.4	22	34.4	5	7.8	0	.0	37	57.8
East Boston ...	58	9.4	28	48.3	4	6.9	0	.0	26	44.8
Totals.....	616	100.0	249	40.4	58	9.4	3	.5	306	49.7

It shows that 40.4 per cent are married, 49.7 per cent are single. In other words, the cases are almost evenly divided between those who are single and those who are or have been married. The lowest percentage of married, 34.4, is found in Charlestown, while the highest percentage of married, 48.3, is in East Boston. We are not certain what the explanation for these variations is, but it is very likely that it is due to the large amount of drinking done by non-residents in Charlestown and the small amount of such drinking in East Boston. A married man usually has a home where he may spend the evening, while a single man is frequently forced out of doors in search of recreation. This may result in driving more single than married men into Boston from out of town in search of amusement, though we have no statistics by which to prove it.

Table VI shows in the first place the ages of our cases by five-year groups. The number in each group increases up to the largest group, 36-40 years of age, which includes 20.8 per cent of the total number.

TABLE VI.

Age Grouping and Conjugal Condition.

Groups by age.....†	—Married—		—Widowed—		—Divorced—		—Single—		
	Number.	Per cent	Number.	Per cent	Number.	Per cent	Number.	Per cent	Number.
17—20...	31	5.0	..	....	..	....	0	....	31
21—25...	68	11.0	9	3.6	..	....	0	....	59
26—30...	74	12.0	24	9.6	2	3.5	1	33.3	47
31—35...	77	12.5	24	9.6	5	8.6	1	33.3	47
36—40...	128	20.8	75	30.2	6	10.3	0	....	47
41—45...	84	13.6	43	17.3	9	15.5	0	....	32
46—50...	57	9.3	29	11.6	11	19.0	0	....	17
51—55...	48	7.8	24	9.7	7	12.1	1	33.4	16
56—60...	22	3.6	13	5.2	5	8.6	0	....	4
61—65...	17	2.8	3	1.2	9	15.5	0	....	5
66—70...	8	1.3	4	1.6	3	2.5	0	....	1
71— ...	2	.3	1	.4	1	1.7	0	....	...
Totals.	616	100.0	249	100.0	58	100.0	3	100.0	306

Beyond this group the numbers diminish, indicating a considerable degree of concentration about the ages of this group. Comparing our table with a similar table (VIa) for the Boston male population over 14 years of age we find that, whereas the Boston male population from 35 to 44 years old, inclusive, included 22 per cent of the male population over 14 years of age, our cases from 36 to 45 years old included 34.4 per cent of the total number of cases. These figures bring out even more strikingly the concentration of our cases about these ages.

Each of the younger groups includes a smaller percentage of the married cases than it does of the total number of cases. But the group from 36 to 40 years old which includes 20.8 per cent. of the total number of cases includes 30.2 per cent. of the married cases, and each group thereafter contains a larger percentage of the married cases than it does of the total number of cases, with the exception of the group from 61 to 65 years old, in which group, however, there are a number of widowed cases. Comparing table VI with table VIa which shows the conjugal condition of the male population of Boston, we find that in the latter table

the percentage of married cases surpasses the percentage of the total at a younger age, namely, at the group from 30 to 34 years old.

TABLE VIa.

United States Census, 1900. Boston Male Population,
Conjugal Condition.

Groups by age.	Total number	Per cent	—Married—		—Single—	
			Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
15—19.....	19,965	10.1	74	0.1	19,853	22.4
20—24.....	26,199	13.2	3,284	3.3	22,710	25.6
25—29.....	31,759	16.0	12,633	12.6	18,752	21.2
30—34.....	28,603	14.4	17,381	17.4	10,651	12.0
35—44.....	43,748	22.0	31,129	31.2	10,781	12.2
45—54.....	25,910	13.0	19,633	19.7	3,908	4.4
55—64.....	14,145	7.1	10,503	10.5	1,456	1.6
65—.....	8,301	4.2	5,229	5.2	548	.6
Totals	198,630	100.0	99,866	100.0	88,659	100.0
Per Cent., Married, 50.2; single, 44.6.						

Each of the younger groups in our table contains a larger percentage of the single cases than of the total up to the group from 36 to 40 years of age which contains 15.3 per cent of the single cases and 20.8 per cent of the total, and thereafter all the groups contain a smaller percentage of single cases. Comparing our table again with that for the male population of Boston we find that in the latter table the percentage of the single cases grows less than the percentage of the total at a younger age, namely, at the group from 30 to 34 years of age.

The preponderance of the married cases at an earlier age in this table than in our table would seem to indicate that there is a higher percentage of single persons among our cases than in the population at large. This is borne out by a comparison of the percentages of the total number of single persons of the total number in each of the two tables. We have already noted that 49.7 per cent, or nearly half of our cases, the youngest of whom is 17 years of age, is single, while only 44.6 per cent. of the total male population of Boston over 14 years of age is single.

This higher percentage of single men among our cases than in the population at large is not surprising. We have

already noted the fact that through lack of a home and family single men are more frequently forced out of doors in the evening in search of recreation than married men. Furthermore, a drinking man is perhaps less likely to marry than the man who does not drink or to marry as early because he prefers to spend his money on drink rather than on a wife and family. In some cases drinking men may be prevented from marrying by a reluctance on the part of women to marry men who drink.

FECUNDITY.

Table VII shows the fecundity of the married cases and the number of their children who have died grouped according to the length of married life.

TABLE VII.
Fecundity of Parents and Number of Children Who Have Died.

Years of married life.....	Total number of married persons	Number of childless.....	Number having children....	Total number of children.		Number of parents who have lost children.....	Number of children who have died.	
				Number.....	Average per parent.....		Number.....	Average per parent.....
1—5.....	45	17	28	50	1.8	11	17	1.5
6—10.....	62	14	48	158	3.3	24	46	1.9
11—15.....	50	6	44	173	3.9	15	40	2.7
16—20.....	53	6	47	253	5.4	34	84	2.5
21—25.....	21	1	20	144	7.2	20	50	2.5
26—30.....	19	1	18	105	5.8	18	57	3.2
31—.....	24	2	22	168	7.6	17	62	3.6
Unknown.....	36	4	32	120	3.8	17	51	3.0
Totals.....	310	51	259	1,171	4.5	156	407	2.6

Percentages—Number of childless, 16.5 per cent of total; number having children, 83.5 per cent of total; number who have lost children, 60.2 per cent of number having children.

Of 310 married, 51, or 16.5 per cent, were childless, and 259, or 83.5 per cent, had children. There was an average of 4.5 children per person having children. The lowest

average naturally was for those married from one to five years, the average being 1.8 children per person. The highest average was for those married more than 30 years, the average being 7.6. In theory this last average would come nearest showing the fecundity of married persons of the class with which this investigation deals, since most of the members of this group have had all the children they will ever have. It would, however, not be safe in this case to take this last average as showing the fecundity, because it represents persons belonging to a time when families were as a rule much larger than now. It is much safer to take the average for the total, namely, 4.5, as most nearly showing the fecundity for the whole because in this average the high fecundity of the older groups is balanced by the low fecundity of the younger groups.

Mayo-Smith* gives the following table which will serve for purposes of comparison:

	1876. Births to Marriages six years previous.	1888. Births to marriages of same year.
Italy	5.15	4.5
Ireland	5.00	4.8
Prussia	4.92	4.1
Sweden	4.84	4.3
Holland	4.83	4.1
England	4.63	3.9
Belgium	4.48	3.9
Spain	4.47	4.5
Denmark	4.24	3.7
Austria	3.73	3.9
France	3.42	3.0

The series of figures for 1888 was secured by dividing the number of births for that year by the number of marriages. This gives in a crude way the fecundity. In the series of figures for 1876 the number of births for that year were divided by the number of marriages six years previous because in most countries the absolute number of marriages is rapidly increasing so that the births of this year represent the fecundity of a smaller number of marriages than those of this year. It is therefore better to divide the number of birth by the marriages of some previous year. It has been calculated that the interval between the mean age of moth-

ers at marriage and their mean age at the births of their children is about six years, and for that reason in the above case the number of marriages for six years previous was taken. These figures are, of course, rather old and are for other countries, but they indicate what the fecundity of certain large masses of people has been.

Of those having children 156 or 60.2 per cent. have lost children. The average per person who has lost children is 2.6 children who have died. The lowest average is 1.5 children for those married from one to five years, and the highest average is 3.6 for those married over 31 years. In this case again as in the case of the fecundity the last average would in theory come nearest showing the average number of children who have died per person of married persons of this class who have lost children. But for the same reason as in the previous case it would not be safe to do this, and we must take the average for the total, namely 2.6, as coming nearest to showing the average number of children who have died per person who has lost children. We have no similar table for the population of Boston with which to compare our table.

NATIVITY.

Table VIII shows the nativity of our cases.

TABLE VIII.

Nativity.

616 Male Inebriates.			Male Population of Boston.		
Place of birth—	No.	Per Ct.	Place of birth—	No.	Per Ct.
United States.....	291	47.3	United States	189,978	65.4
Ireland	193	31.4	Ireland	28,489	9.8
Canada	71	11.5	Canada	16,546	5.6
England	15	2.4	England	6,457	2.2
Scotland	12	1.9	Scotland	2,213	.8
Germany	3	.5	Germany	4,716	1.6
Sweden	3	.5	Sweden	3,166	1.1
Norway	3	.5	Norway	878	.3
Russia	3	.5	Russia	13,039	4.5
Belgium	2	.3	Belgium	270	.1
Italy	1	.2	Italy	11,934	4.1
Denmark	1	.2	Denmark	496	.2
Unknown	17	2.8	Other countries....	11,713	4.3
Totals	616	100.0	Totals	290,309	100.0

With the figures in our table are compared the corresponding figures for the total male population of Boston, from the state census of 1905. We see that whereas 65.4 per cent of the total male population is native-born only 47.3 per cent of our cases are native-born, indicating that there is a higher percentage of foreign-born among our cases than in the population at large. Ireland was the place of birth of 31.4 per cent of our cases, whereas only 9.8 per cent of the total population was born in Ireland. Canada was the place of birth of 11.5 per cent of our cases, whereas only 5.6 per cent of the total population was born in Canada. On the other hand, Russia was the place of birth of only 0.5 per cent of our cases, whereas 4.5 per cent of the total population was born in Russia, most of these being Jews, and Italy was the place of birth of only 0.2 per cent of our cases, whereas 4.1 per cent of the total population was born in Italy.

Table IX shows the nativity of the foreign-born fathers of 263 of our cases.

TABLE IX.

Nativity of Foreign-Born Fathers.

Fathers of 263 out of 616 cases.			Fathers of 199,251 Boston Males.		
Place of birth—	No.	Per Ct.	Place of birth*—	No.	Per Ct.
Ireland	206	78.4	Ireland	80,574	40.4
Scotland	18	6.8	Scotland	5,452	2.7
England	12	4.6	England	12,704	6.4
Germany	9	3.4	Germany	12,412	6.3
France	7	2.6	France	1,159	.6
Canada	6	2.2	Canada	27,790	13.9
Wales	1	.4	Wales	263	.1
Sweden	1	.4	Sweden	5,040	2.5
Denmark	1	.4	Denmark	832	.4
Austria	1	.4	Austria	1,729	.9
Portugal	1	.4	Portugal	887	.5
			Other countries....	50,409	25.3
Totals	263	100.0	Totals	199,251	100.0

*Of foreign-born fathers of Boston male population.

This, however, does not include all of the cases which had foreign-born fathers, for in a number of those cases it was impossible to secure this information, usually on account of the ignorance or forgetfulness of the

subject of the investigation. With the figures on our table are compared the corresponding figures with regard to the nativity of foreign-born fathers of the Boston male population. We see that whereas 78.4 per cent. of our cases having foreign-born fathers had fathers born in Ireland, only 40.4 per cent. of the Boston male population having foreign-born fathers had fathers born in Ireland; and whereas 6.8 per cent. of our cases had fathers born in Scotland, only 2.7 per cent. of the Boston male population having foreign-born fathers had fathers born in Scotland. On the other hand, whereas, of the Boston male population having foreign-born fathers 6.4 per cent. had fathers born in England, 6.3 per cent. had fathers born in Germany and 13.9 per cent. had fathers born in Canada, of our cases only 4.6 per cent. had fathers born in England, 3.4 per cent. had fathers born in Germany and 2.2 per cent. had fathers born in Canada.

AGE AT DEATH OF PARENTS.

Table X shows the age at death of parents of those who have lost one or both parents when not over twenty years of age.

TABLE X.

Age at Death of Parents.

Groups by age—	Father.		Mother.	
	Number.	Per Ct.	Number.	Per Ct.
Under 1	8	4.0	3	2.4
One to 5	46	22.8	29	23.4
Six to 10	42	20.8	26	21.0
Eleven to 15	44	21.8	32	25.8
Sixteen to 20	62	30.6	34	27.4
Totals	202	100.0	124	100.0

It was assumed that the loss of a parent when more than twenty years old could not have sufficient influence to be worthy of tabulation. There is some overlapping in this table since those who have lost both parents are recorded twice. There was probably some inaccuracy in reporting the age at the time of death of parents.

The most significant thing about this table is that many

more have lost their fathers than their mothers when young, 202 having lost their fathers and 124 their mothers. This, however, is to be expected. In the first place the male death rate is higher than the female owing to the greater risks undergone by men, etc. This results in a higher paternal than maternal death rate. But even after allowing for this the excessive number of cases in which the father has been lost at an early age has not been entirely accounted for. This seems to indicate that one of the conditions unfavorable to the development of character and sobriety in the cases under consideration is the loss of the father. The loss of the father deprives the boy of the discipline usually given by a father, thus removing one of the checks upon inebriety. In some of the cases the father may have died from heavy drinking and the son inherited the taste for liquor. It is quite likely that in the case of female inebriety also the loss of the father has greater influence than the loss of the mother because the father is as a rule the principal economic support of the family, and his death does more to break up the home, disorganize the family, etc., than the death of the mother. It would be interesting to have a table similar to ours for an equal number of female inebriates for purposes of comparison.

AGE AT LEAVING HOME AND CAUSES.

Table XI gives the age at leaving home and the principal cause for leaving home for all those who left home when under 26 years of age.

It was believed that these facts were not of enough significance in the case of those who were twenty-six and over when they left home to require tabulation. The age may not always have been given accurately on account of forgetfulness, and the cause given may not always have been the principal one, either on account of forgetfulness or because the subject never was conscious of what the principal cause for his leaving home was.

We have 356 cases recorded in this table. Apparently none of our cases left home under six years of age. Of the

cases in this table 3.4 per cent left from 6 to 10 years of age, inclusive. The most frequent cause for leaving home in this age group was death of parents. From 11 to 15 years an average per year of 3.3 per cent. of the total left home. The most frequent cause for leaving home from 11 through 18 years of age was work. At 18 years the largest number for any one year left home, the percentage being 16.3. The percentages who left at 19 and 20 were 8.4 and 9.3, respectively, the most frequent cause at both ages being the coming to America. An average percentage per year of 6.7 left from 21 to 25 years of age, inclusive, the most frequent cause for this group being marriage.

The most frequent cause for all the cases was work, the percentage being 32.4. Coming to America was the cause in 27.9 per cent of the cases. In 14.4 per cent of the cases marriage was the cause. Death of parents was the cause in 13 per cent. of the cases. It is evident that these are perfectly normal causes for leaving home, and have no necessary connection with inebriety. We have no similar table for the population of Boston with which to compare our table in order to determine whether these percentages would be about the same for the population at large.

A roving disposition was the cause in 3.6 per cent. of the cases. This kind of a disposition might also lead to drinking. A step-parent was the cause in 2.8 per cent of the cases. In 2.2 per cent. breaking up housekeeping was the cause. In 1.6 per cent. trouble with the family was the cause, and in some of these cases drinking may have caused the trouble. Going to school was the cause in 1.1 per cent. of the cases. In 0.2 per cent. of the cases they were sent away to an institution, and the same percentage of cases left home on account of drinking.

TRADE OR OCCUPATION.

Table XII shows the trade or occupation in 577 of our cases, this information not being obtainable in the remaining cases.

TABLE XII.

Trade or Occupation.

Number. Per Ct.		Number. Per Ct.			
Laborer	119	20.6	Tailor	6	1.0
Teamster	92	15.9	Butcher	6	1.0
Metal worker	29	5.0	Barber	6	1.0
Painter	23	4.0	Tinsmith	6	1.0
Carpenter	20	3.5	Baker	6	1.0
Longshoreman ...	18	3.1	Fisherman	6	1.0
Hostler	16	2.8	Cook	6	1.0
Factory worker ..	13	2.3	Hodcarrier	5	.9
Engineer and fire-			Janitor	5	.9
man	13	2.3	Peddler	5	.9
Clerk and book-			Coachman	5	.9
keeper	12	2.1	Paver	5	.9
Shoemaker	11	1.9	Leather worker ..	5	.9
Machinist	10	1.7	Roofer	4	.7
Stone mason and			Cooper	4	.7
bricklayer	9	1.6	Com. traveler	4	.7
Plumber	9	1.6	Woodworker	4	.7
Freight handler ..	8	1.4	Miscellaneous	68	11.8
Waiter	7	1.2			
Sailor and rigger.	6	1.0			
Blacksmith	6	1.0			
			Totals	577	100.0

We have given the figures for the thirty-five trades and occupations represented by four or more cases. There were forty-seven other trades and occupations represented each by less than four which we have grouped under the heading of miscellaneous.

The laborer and teamster groups are most heavily represented containing 20.6 per cent. and 15.9 per cent., respectively, of the total. The next group is that of the metal workers containing 5 per cent, and all the other groups are smaller.

Table XIIa compares some of the occupations represented in our table with the figures for the same occupations for the male population of Boston over 10 years of age.

These occupations include 24.1 per cent of this population while the same occupations include 53.7 per cent. of our cases. In order to make the comparison direct, and to bring out the ratios between the different occupations, we change the percentages for these occupations for the population of Boston so that their sum total will be 53.7. We now note that the percentages for the inebriates are higher

TABLE XIIa.
Trade or Occupation.

	Number.....	Per cent of Boston male population 10 years and over.*	Per cent reduced to comparable basis.	Per cent of 577 in- ebriates.....
Laborers	19,545	8.8	19.6	20.6
Draymen, hackmen, teamsters, etc. . . .	11,321	5.0	11.1	15.9
Carpenters and joiners	6,204	2.8	6.2	3.5
Painters, glaziers and varnishers... .	4,393	2.0	4.5	4.0
Machinists	4,329	2.0	4.5	1.7
Boot and shoe makers and repairers. .	2,201	1.0	2.2	1.9
Masons (brick and stone).....	2,152	1.0	2.2	1.6
Bakers	1,461	.7	1.6	1.0
Hostlers	1,231	.6	1.3	2.8
Coopers	404	.2	.5	.7
Totals	53,241	24.1	53.7	53.7

*U. S. Census, 1900, Boston male population, 10 years and over, 221,799.

than for the population in the case of four occupations, namely, laborers, draymen, etc., hostlers and coopers. The first three groups are more or less unskilled, while many of the coopers though skilled are employed in breweries which may lead them to drink. In all the other groups which represent trades more or less skilled the percentages for the inebriates are smaller than for the population at large, the most notable differences being in the cases of the carpenters and joiners where the percentages are 6.2 and 3.5, and of the machinists where the percentages are 4.5 and 1.7. It must be remembered, however, that the method of classifying trades and occupations of the United States census and our method may differ, thus vitiating to a considerable extent the value of the above comparison.

In 57 cases there was reported a change of trade or occupation, but this figure probably represents only a minimum of these changes. In 18 of these cases the change was to the occupation of laborer, and in 17 of these cases to that of teamster, the change apparently having been for the worse in most or all of these cases.

EDUCATION.

Table XIII shows the extent of illiteracy among and the amount of education received by 335 of our cases.

TABLE XIII.

Education.

Grade—	Number.	Per Cent.
Illiterate	78	23.3
Primary	4	1.2
Grammar	220	65.6
Parochial School	9	2.7
High School	23	6.9
College	1	.3
Totals	335	100.0

No definite information was forthcoming in the other cases on account of forgetfulness. The table is based upon the somewhat arbitrary distinctions between those who cannot read and write and the school grades. We see that the illiterate form 23.3 per cent. The United States census for 1900 gives the male population of Boston 10 years of age and over as 221,799, of whom 8,664, or 3.9 per cent, were illiterate. The high percentage of illiteracy among our cases was due partly to Irish laborers whose childhood was passed in Ireland, where they had no educational facilities. The majority of our cases, namely, 65.6 per cent., left school when in the grammar grades.

REASONS FOR DRINKING.

Table XIV gives the special reasons for drinking for 520 of our cases.

TABLE XIV.

Special Reasons for Drinking.

Social	374	Family habit	6
Taste for drink	45	Trouble with wife	6
Sickness	16	Fatigue	5
Military and naval service...	12	Troubles	5
Working in hotel, club, saloon, etc.	11	Heat of work	5
Death of relative or friend..	8	Bad companions	4
Occupation (barber, hack- man, etc.)	8	Family in liquor business....	2
Discouragement	7	Miscellaneous	6
		Total	520

It is based upon the opinions of the persons themselves as to what were the special reasons for their beginning and continuing to drink. These opinions may, however, frequently be mistaken either on account of forgetfulness or because the persons never really knew the reasons for their drinking. A social reason is given in a great majority of the cases. However, this reason may frequently be given because drinking is usually done in company while something else may be the fundamental reason. Association with others may frequently be considered the cause of drinking because the two so frequently go together. However, company is undoubtedly the principal cause for drinking in many cases. A taste for drink was given as a special reason in 45 cases, and this may be regarded as a minimum figure for the physiological inebriates.

HABITS OF DRINKING.

Table XV shows the habits of drinking of 526 of our cases.

TABLE XV.
Habits of Drinking.

	Number.	Per Cent.
Social	276	52.5
Social and solitary	159	30.2
Solitary	91	17.3
Totals	526	100.0

We see that 52.5 per cent drink habitually with others, while 30.2 per cent drink sometimes with others, which indicates the great preponderance of social habits of drinking among our cases.

Table XVI gives some indication of the frequency of intoxication of 479 of our cases.

TABLE XVI.
Frequency of Intoxication.

	Number.	Per Cent.
Very frequent (up to once in two weeks)	115	24.0
Frequent (two weeks to two months)	120	25.1
Infrequent (over two months)	244	50.9
Totals	479	100.0

This table is only approximate because in many cases no definite information was given as to the length of the usual interval between periods of intoxication, and the meaning of the word frequent varies greatly between different individuals. We have therefore adopted arbitrarily definite lengths of time which correspond on the average to the phrases very frequent, frequent and infrequent. We see that 51 per cent, or more than half, report that they become intoxicated infrequently, namely, less frequently than once in two months. The rest are divided almost evenly between those who become intoxicated frequently, namely, from two weeks to two months, and very frequently, namely, less than two weeks. It is probable, however, that there should be a larger percentage of those who become intoxicated frequently and very frequently because some are not inclined to tell how frequently they become intoxicated.

Of those who reported that they became intoxicated infrequently at least eight seemed to be periodic inebriates or dipsomaniacs.

Table XVII gives some indication of the habits of drinking of 503 cases between periods of intoxication.

TABLE XVII.

Habits of Drinking Between Periods of Intoxication.

	Number.	Per Cent.
Every day	235	46.8
Nearly every day	34	6.7
Occasionally	11	2.2
Not at all	223	44.3
Totals	503	100.0

They are almost evenly divided between those who drink every day and those who do not drink at all between these periods. It is, however, rather hard to believe that as many as 44.3 per cent of them do not drink at all between these periods, and it is quite likely that some of these disliked to reveal the extent of their drinking.

RECREATIONS.

Table XVIII gives the favorite recreation of each of 255 of our cases.

TABLE XVIII.
Favorite Recreation.

	Number.	Per Cent.
Staying at home	113	44.3
Theatre	76	29.8
Reading	30	11.8
Drinking	16	6.3
Music	7	2.7
Miscellaneous	13	5.1
Totals	255	100.0

No definite information with regard to this point was forthcoming in the majority of our cases. Even for the cases reported in this table the information is only approximate for in many of these cases in all probability the first recreation thought of was given without much regard to whether it was the principal one. "Staying at home" was given as the favorite recreation in 44.3 per cent. of the cases. This, however, is not, strictly speaking, a recreation, and it serves rather to indicate the lack of recreation. Many must stay at home because they have no other place to which to go, unless it be the saloon, which naturally they would not wish to give as a favorite recreation. We have already noted in a previous table that the majority gave company as the special reason for their drinking. This was probably in large part caused by many who go to the saloon for recreation in association with others. The theatre and reading were given in 29.8 per cent and 11.7 per cent. of the cases, respectively. Drinking was given frankly as the favorite recreation in 6.3 per cent. of the cases, but would probably have been given by many more of the men had they been more candid.

PENAL RECORD.

Table XIX gives some indication of the number of arrests for drunkenness in each of 524 of our cases.

INEBRIETY IN BOSTON.

TABLE XIX.
Arrests for Drunkenness.

Number of times arrested—	Number.	Per Cent.
Once	156	25.3
Twice	125	20.3
Three times	90	14.6
Four times	52	8.4
Five times	31	5.0
Six times	29	4.7
Seven times	8	1.3
Eight times	5	.8
Nine to 20	22	3.7
Twenty-one to 40.....	6	1.0
Unknown	92	14.9
Totals	616	100.0

It is evident that it shows only the minimum number of arrests; for, on account of forgetfulness or disinclination to tell the total number of arrests, many doubtless failed to report the total number. We note that 25.3 per cent., or a little more than one-fourth, report having been arrested only once, which shows that a rather small percentage of these cases were first offenders. This is especially noticeable when we consider that nearly three-fourths had been arrested more than once and were therefore recidivists in drunkenness. As a matter of fact, there must have been still more of these recidivists, for some who reported only one arrest must have been arrested more times. A little more than one-fifth, namely, 20.3 per cent., had been arrested twice so that considerably more than one-half had been arrested more than twice.

Table XX indicates that at least 272, or 44.2 per cent, of all our cases have been placed on probation one or more times.

TABLE XX.
Placed on Probation.

Number of times—	Number.	Per Cent.
Once	167	61.4
Twice	75	27.6
Three	21	7.7
Four	8	2.9
Five	..	..
Six	1	.4
Totals	272	100.0
Per cent of total number of cases.....	44.2	

Of these 61.4 per cent, or more than one-half, were on probation only once; 27.6 per cent., or more than one-fourth, were on probation twice; and the remainder from three to six times. This table is, however, only approximate, since the information given was not always very definite on account of forgetfulness, but it shows the minimum number of those placed on probation.

Table XXI gives the number of commitments for drunkenness.

TABLE XXI.

Commitments for Drunkenness.

Number of times committed.....	Number of individuals.....	House of Correction.....	State Farm.....	State Asylum for Insane at Foxborough.....	Charles St. Jail.....	Other Institutions..
One	91	87	16	3	4	8
Two	36	36	4	1	3	1
Three	24	28	2	..	..	1
Four	14	10	..	..	..	..
Five	9	6	1	..	..	..
Six	6	4	..	..	..	..
Seven	5	4	..	..	..	..
Eight	3	3	..	..	..	..
Nine	1	..	..	..	..	..
Ten	..	1	..	..	..	..
Eleven	..	..	..	..	..	..
Twelve	2	3	..	..	..	..
Thirteen	2	..	..	..	..	..
Unknown	45	37	6	1	4	..
Totals	238	219	29	5	11	10

The figures given may be regarded as the minimum figures for these commitments. Two hundred and thirty-eight individuals were committed from one to thirteen times to various penal institutions. The great majority of these, namely 219, have been sent to the House of Correction one or more times. Twenty-nine have been to the state farm and smaller numbers to various other institutions. It is evident from these figures that the great majority of commitments for drunkenness are to the House

of Correction. We have not the figures for the number of fines imposed upon our cases.

We find that more than seven times as many have been committed to the House of Correction as to the State Farm. Referring back to our table which shows the disposition of drunkenness cases in Boston for the year ending September 30, 1907, we find that only about three times as many of these cases were sent to the House of Correction as to the State Farm. This seems at first to indicate that an abnormally large number of our cases were sent to the House of Correction or an abnormally small number to the State Farm. On further examination of this table, however, we find that in the Central court, which has almost twice as many cases as all the other courts put together, nearly half as many are sent to the State Farm as to the House of Correction, thus making the total average for those sent to the State Farm much higher than it is in any of the other courts. Since less than a third of our cases are from the Central court the abnormally large number of cases sent from this court to the State Farm does not increase very much the number of our cases sent to the State Farm.

CONVICTIONS FOR OFFENSES OTHER THAN DRUNKENNESS.

Table XXII gives the number of convictions for offenses other than drunkenness. As in the previous table, these figures may be regarded as the minimum figures for these convictions. It appears that 104 individuals were convicted for these offenses from one to eight times. The most frequent offense was assault and battery, of which 42 were convicted. This fact indicates the intimate connection between this offense and drunkenness, this offense frequently resulting from drunkenness. Twenty-two were convicted of petit larceny and smaller numbers of other offenses. The number convicted for offenses other than drunkenness form 16.8 per cent of the total number of our cases, or at the rate of 168 per 1,000 cases.

TABLE XXII.

Convictions for Offenses Other Than Drunkenness.

Number of times convicted for of- fenses other than drunkenness.....	Number of individ- uals convicted.....	Assault and battery.	Petit larceny.....	—Offenses—			Other offenses.....
				Idle and disorderly.	Non-support.....	Truancy.....	
One	80	36	14	7	7	7	24
Two	12	3	4	..	..	..	1
Three	3	..	..	1	..	..	..
Four	2	1	..	..	..	..	..
Five	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Six	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Seven	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Eight	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
Unknown	6	1	4	..	..	..	2
Totals	104	42	22	8	7	7	27

Our previous table giving the arrests for drunkenness and other crimes in Boston shows that during the year ending September 30, 1907, there were 26.8 arrests for crimes other than drunkenness per 1,000 of population. The number of convictions resulting from these arrests would, of course, be considerably less. The rate for the total population of Boston is therefore very much below the rate for our cases. It must, of course, be remembered that the number of convictions for our cases is in each case for all of his previous life. But even after allowance has been made for this the rate for our cases remains very high indeed.

INEBRIETY AND CRIME.

Many of these cases stated that they were under the influence of liquor when they committed these crimes. Some of these statements were probably untrue and were made in extenuation of the crimes. In 1879-1880 the Massachu-

setts Bureau of Statistics of Labor made an investigation* of all the crimes other than "rum crimes" arraigned in the county of Suffolk from September 1, 1879, to September 1, 1880, with a view to ascertaining the connection between these crimes and liquor. Every criminal was interviewed and every other source of information was used to determine whether liquor had caused the crime. It was found that 2,097 of the 4,608, or 45.5 per cent, "were in liquor at the time of the commission of the various offenses of which they were found guilty." In this investigation as in ours dependence had to be put largely upon the statements of the persons themselves who undoubtedly tended to exaggerate the extent of the influence of liquor upon crimes for purposes of extenuation. However, these figures give some indication of the close connection between inebriety and crime.

The following is the summary of a study made in England of the connection between inebriety and crime: "Considering the several categories of serious delinquency, we have found that alcoholic intoxication is answerable for about 60 per cent. of indictable crimes of violence, and for a rather higher proportion of minor offenses of the same class; that it is probably the cause of nearly half the crimes of lust; and that, on the other hand, it makes no appreciable contribution to crimes of acquisitiveness. And we have further seen that, while in one form of sexual crime—rape on adults—the alcoholic condition which leads to the act may be no more than simple drunkenness, all the other varieties of delinquency due to alcoholism depend almost entirely on the chronic intoxication."† It may be added that inebriety does sometimes lead indirectly to crimes of acquisitiveness because inebriates will sometimes commit such crimes in order to secure the means for purchasing liquor.

*Carroll D. Wright—Influence of Intemperance Upon Crime. (From the Twelfth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor for 1881), Boston, 1889.

† Wm. C. Sullivan—The Criminology of Alcoholism, in *The Drink Problem*, edited by T. N. Kelynack, New York, 1907.

THE PLEDGE.

Two hundred and twenty-four reported having taken pledges not to drink for varying periods of time. Most of these pledges were for three months, six months, or one year. One hundred and six reported having kept all their pledges, 104 having broken all, and 14 kept part of their pledges or are keeping them now. Thus nearly half reported having kept all their pledges. This number was probably exaggerated by some who claimed to have kept pledges that they had broken. But even after making allowance for this a considerable percentage would remain who had kept all their pledges. It is, however, quite likely that a much higher percentage of these pledges were for very short periods than of the pledges that were broken.

It goes without saying that the pledge even when kept during the period for which it is taken does not necessarily stop the inebriate from drinking, for in the great majority of cases probably he goes back to drinking as heavily if not more heavily than before. If some or all of the forces which make for inebriety could be removed at the same time the pledge might help the inebriate to get started on the road to sobriety. But so long as these forces remain at work the pledge can hardly do more than check the habit of drinking temporarily.

When the pledge is taken by a person who is a Catholic it is usually taken before a priest. The writer has never witnessed this ceremony, but it appears that the person taking the pledge kneels before the priest while the priest reads a religious formula printed upon a pledge card which gives to the proceeding an air of great solemnity. The person then signs the pledge card which he takes home with him, there to serve as a constant reminder of his pledge. This ceremony makes considerable impression upon the mind of the person taking the pledge, especially if he is ignorant, because he is afraid that if he breaks the pledge he will incur the wrath of the priest, to say nothing of the wrath of God.

Some persons when asked whether they had ever taken the pledge rejected the idea with scorn, as if the question implied that they did not have enough self-control to keep from drinking without a pledge. Occasionally, however, one of these would say that he had taken the pledge "within himself," that is to say, had agreed with himself not to drink for a certain period of time, and he would usually contend that this had served as well as the usual pledge.

Very frequently a judge will stipulate when putting an inebriate on probation that the pledge is to be taken and the first thing done by the probation officer will be to see that the pledge is taken. A police judge in St. Louis has carried still further the use of the pledge as a means for checking inebriety. When a man is brought before him charged with drunkenness he offers to let him go provided he will take the pledge for a year. So long as the man keeps the pledge the judge agrees not to have him arrested, but the moment he breaks the pledge the judge is free to have him arrested. It is evident that in these cases this is not strictly speaking a pledge, but is more like an agreement or contract between the judge and the inebriate. The judge probably puts it in the form of a pledge because he knows that thus will be added a religious sanction which will lead many men to keep the pledge where they would break a contract, however much to their interest it might be to keep it.

CURES.

Twenty-seven cases reported having tried cures. It goes without saying that in these cases the cures have failed, so that we can judge nothing from them as to the utility of these cures. In most of these cases it was reported that there was no result or that drinking was stopped for a time, usually quite short. Of these 27 cases 10 had tried the Keeley cure and 4 had been to the Foxborough State Asylum for Inebriates. The others had used various drugs and forms of treatment.

Inquiries made of druggists and doctors revealed the fact that many of these cures were composed of such drugs as tartar emetic, apo morphine, sulphate of manganese, sulphate of magnesia, etc. No one of these drugs can do very much or anything to cure inebriety. The principal result in the case of many of them is to create a feeling of nausea which, coming as it usually does soon after the use of alcoholic drinks, may cause in the subject a temporary feeling of disgust towards such drinks. Thus the effect of the cure is psychic rather than physical, because the subject attributes the nausea to the drink as a cause rather than to the drug.

SUMMARY OF TABLES.

We have now presented the tables which bring out the most significant characteristics of the group of inebriates studied in the course of our investigation. As far as possible we have compared each table with a similar table for the population of Boston in order to determine to what extent our cases vary from the population at large. It may be contended that inasmuch as a considerable number of our cases are non-resident the value of such comparison is vitiated. However, most of these non-resident cases come from Eastern Massachusetts and as Boston is fairly typical of this part of the state this criticism cannot have much weight.

Let us now summarize the conclusions to be drawn from these tables, using in the course of this summary suggestions and reflections drawn from notes taken in the course of the investigation.

Tables V and VI dealing with the conjugal condition of our cases show that our cases tend to marry later than the normal and that there is an unusually large number of single men among them. The reasons for these variations we have discussed at some length. Table VI gives also the age grouping showing a concentration during the period from 36 to 45 years old and especially during the period

from 36 to 40. This concentration at this period is not surprising. It is hardly to be expected earlier because the law prevents inebriety at a very early age and it usually requires some time to acquire the habit of drinking. The great decrease beyond the period of concentration may be due to the fact that inebriety has killed them off, or it may be because they do not become arrested so frequently when older. It is of course impossible to estimate the average longevity of our cases while they are still living, but it would be interesting, if possible, to follow them to their deaths in order to do so.

Table VII deals with the fecundity rate of our cases giving in a crude way 4.5 as the rate. We also attempted to estimate the fecundity rate for the population of Boston but were unable to do so on account of the inadequacy of official vital statistics for estimating this rate. Our attempt was, therefore, of no value for this investigation, but it was of some significance as showing the inefficiency of present methods of gathering vital statistics.

Tables VIII and IX, dealing with the nativity of our cases and of foreign-born fathers, show that a higher percentage of our cases are foreign-born or of foreign parentage than in the population at large. The preponderance of Irish among our cases is peculiarly striking. When we compare the poor Irish population in Boston with the corresponding Jewish population, for example, it is hard to explain why the one should drink so much more than the other except by the difference in race. So far as poverty and the other social forces for drinking are concerned the Jews should drink as much as the Irish. And yet the Jews are very temperate as a race. But the Irish character seems to take very kindly to alcoholic drinks. His joyous and buoyant personality and volatile temperament give him a taste for the exhilarating effects of drink. The lack of foresight which usually accompanies this kind of personality and temperament keeps him from foreseeing the unhappy results from excessive drinking. Furthermore, it may be, as the English scientist Archdall Reid contends, that the

Irish have not used alcoholic drinks for a very long time and therefore have not gone through a process of alcoholic selection which would have eliminated from their race those who have a strong craving for drink. The Jews have gone through such a process of selection and are therefore a temperate race.

It appeared from answers received to questions with regard to this point that most of those who acquired the habit of drinking before leaving Ireland were brought up in the cities while those who acquired the habit after coming to this country were brought up in the country.

In the next few tables are represented certain aspects of the characters and careers of our cases and in each table we are able to note a certain amount of variation from the normal. Laborers and teamsters form two classes from which many inebriates come. In the case of the laborers their ignorance and lack of other pleasures have much to do with leading them to drink. In the case of the teamsters there are exposure to the weather and irregularity of employment which lead to drinking. The high percentage of illiteracy among our cases is very noticeable as indicating a low grade of mentality.

CAUSES OF INEBRIETY.

In the fourteenth table are given the special reasons for drinking. These reasons should throw some light upon the causes of inebriety though, as a matter of fact, they are in need of much interpretation because of the frequent ignorance of these persons as to the real reasons for their drinking.

Industrial conditions have a good deal to do with drinking, though this is not clearly revealed by our table. Unemployment tends both to increase and to lessen the amount of drinking. It probably causes more drinking than it prevents though this is difficult to determine. Whether conditions were worse during the winter of this investigation in Boston than elsewhere it is hard to say. But the winter is

usually a bad season of the year everywhere for the working classes and the recent financial crisis having caused an industrial depression the amount of unemployment was increased. On account of their lack of employment men are likely to have less money to spend on drink, which is a limitation upon their drinking. On the other hand, many testified that they got drunk because they had no other way of passing the time. Sometimes they may drink also on account of discouragement. It may seem rather strange that men should waste their money just when they have the greatest need for it. However, the recklessness arising out of desperation is a common psychological phenomenon.

We have spoken of discouragement as a cause of inebriety. Such discouragement probably arises most frequently out of economic difficulties. But it may be caused by many other things, such as domestic troubles, chronic disease, etc. The only relief from the mental depression resulting from these troubles seems to be sometimes to drown it in drink.

"Company" is the reason most frequently given by inebriates themselves for their inebriety. As we have already indicated this is not the fundamental reason in many cases but it is of sufficient importance to deserve careful consideration. It goes without saying that all human beings crave social enjoyment of some sort. Especially true is this of the Irish who contribute so large a percentage of the inebriates in Boston. The saloon is frequently the only place where they can meet for this social enjoyment. Many of them insist that they do not like alcoholic drinks and drink it only in company. In some of the cases it may be a physiological craving, which we shall discuss further on, which leads them to drink, but in many of them it is the desire for social enjoyment which attracts them to the saloon. Lack of means of recreation and of social enjoyment is therefore an important cause of inebriety. We have already noted in connection with the eighteenth table that "staying at home" which is given by many as a favorite recreation is not, strictly speaking, a recreation and serves rather to indicate

the lack of recreation. In the Central court district an excessive number of places of amusement becomes a cause of inebriety but in other parts of the city, such as Roxbury and South Boston, there is a noticeable lack of such places of amusement. This is, of course, greatly to the benefit of the saloons, as is evidenced by the fact that a saloon is to be seen on nearly every street corner. We will discuss further on what measures may be taken to provide more places of recreation and to check the present monopoly on the part of the saloon.

We have already referred to a physiological craving for alcoholic drinks as a cause of inebriety. We have noted in connection with table XIV that 45 cases attributed their drinking to a taste for drink. It is reasonable to suppose that in the majority or all of these cases there was a physiological craving for drink, inasmuch as the mere taste of the liquor to the palate would not be sufficient reason to induce them to drink. Lack of will power was given in some cases as a reason for drinking. In doing so they intended to take the blame for drinking upon themselves. They said frankly that they could stop if they exerted their will power. Now it is probable that in most of these cases they were deceiving themselves and were not so much to blame as they thought. It was an inherent and uncontrollable force which was making them drink but which was so subtle and intangible in its character that they were not aware of its existence and thought themselves to blame. Furthermore, in certain cases, it was claimed that the taste of liquor was disliked. It would therefore seem very illogical for them to continue drinking. But just as we have assumed that a taste for liquor given as a reason for drinking is an indication of physiological craving, so continued drinking in spite of a dislike for the taste of liquor is an indication of a craving so strong as to overcome this dislike.

PHYSIOLOGICAL CRAVING FOR ALCOHOLIC DRINKS.

It did not fall within the scope of our investigation to

make a special study of this physiological craving for alcoholic drinks, but the preceding are crude indications of the extent to which it is a cause of inebriety. This craving is an intensified form of the attraction which these drinks have to a more or less degree for nearly every one, because of the exhilarating and inebriating effect of alcohol. This attraction has been described in the following passage: "There can be no doubt, however, that neither the gratification of the palate, the quenching of thirst, the reviving of failing energy, nor the removal of gloom constitutes the essential attraction of alcoholic drinks. The essential factor in the attractiveness of alcoholic drinks is their power to intoxicate and narcotise, a conclusion which is further suggested by the fact that mankind shows a disposition to indulge in a variety of intoxicant and narcotic substances (such as opium, hasheesh) which have nothing but their drug effects to recommend them. We must conclude, therefore, that man has an inborn liking for intoxicants. This liking is found not only in primitive peoples living under primitive conditions, but in civilized man also, though probably, as we shall see, in a less intense form. With him, however, other factors besides the desire for intoxication, such as ill-health and mental depression—factors begotten of civilization—come into operation."* The same writer speaks as follows of the exercise of will power in combating this craving for alcohol: "The will is only a secondary factor in determining whether an individual shall be drunk or sober; a weak-willed person who is indifferent to alcohol is much less likely to drift into intemperance than a strong-willed person who is highly susceptible to its attractions. I do not wish to underestimate the influence of will power in this connection; a strong will may assuredly overcome a strong natural bias to inebriety, and many a man would undoubtedly drift into intemperance but for the exercise of great self-control. Where will power is most effective is

*Harry Campbell—*The Evolution of the Alcoholic*, in *The Drink Problem*, edited by T. N. Kelynack, New York, 1907, pp. 35-36.

in preventing the hitherto sober man from becoming intemperate; but once habits of intemperance have been contracted, the will is too often powerless to oppose an effective resistance.”* Such a craving for alcoholic drinks has undoubtedly been the principal cause of inebriety in many of our cases, but except in the crude ways we have indicated it is impossible for us to estimate the number.

JUDICIAL AND PENAL METHODS.

We have said in the introduction to this report that this investigation was a study of individual cases. As these cases belonged to the class of inebriates who become involved in the machinery of the penal law we were able to make numerous observations of the judicial and penal methods used in dealing with inebriety, and we will now devote some consideration to these methods.

DRUNKENNESS AS A CRIME.

The fact that this study has its penal aspect indicates that in Massachusetts inebriety has come to be stigmatized as a crime. As we have already noted, in this respect it differs from most penal jurisdictions. For example, the attitude of the law towards drunkenness in England is described in the following passage: “Drunkenness, as such, is not penal; a man is within his legal rights ‘in drinking to excess. But if he makes himself ‘legally’ or ‘sufficiently’ drunk, and in addition his conduct is associated with personal incapability or with public disorder, in some half-dozen instances, where his exhibition is under circumstances peculiarly dangerous to others, the ordinarily optional fine may be replaced by imprisonment at the discretion of a court of summary jurisdiction.”† In England individual liberty is very jealously safeguarded and therefore drunkenness has been regarded as too personal a matter to

**Op. cit.*, p. 40.

†Stanley B. Atkinson—*Medico-Legal Relations of Alcoholism*, in *The Drink Problem*, edited by T. N. Kelynack, New York, 1907.

warrant penal treatment except where it becomes immediately dangerous to others. No encroachment, of course, should be made upon personal liberty without ample social justification. If drunkenness did in reality concern no one but the drunkard himself there would be no warrant for making it criminal. But it is because it has come to be recognized that almost invariably there result from it evil consequences to others and that it is a grave menace to society that in Massachusetts and elsewhere it has been stigmatized as criminal. Now, while it may be justifiable to impose some form of social restraint upon drunkenness, it may be questioned whether it was wise to make it criminal, or, to say the least, to make it criminal at once without passing it through some intermediate form of social restraint. On the one hand it is dangerous to stigmatize as criminal an act which is not yet regarded by the public as essentially immoral, for by so doing is bred disrespect for the law. In course of time a wholesome feeling may develop among the public that drunkenness is essentially immoral because it is anti-social, and when that time comes it may be safe to stigmatize it as criminal. But, as we have already said, in our introduction, at present it can be considered as no more than quasi-criminal.

On the other hand, to treat the inebriate as a criminal usually does him more harm than good. For that reason drunkenness should be treated in a manner essentially different from purely penal treatment. In fact, drunkenness is the principal one among a group of offenses, such as violations of the automobile ordinances, spitting on the sidewalk, etc., for which should be developed a somewhat peculiar procedure and distinctive repressive measures. We do not mean that the repression of these acts should be any less severe than at present. But for reasons which we have already suggested, namely, that the public does not regard these acts as essentially immoral and that purely penal treatment usually does these individuals more harm than good, these acts should not for the present be stigmatized as crimes. These acts are, in reality, crimes in the making,

evolutive crimes. For developing for them a somewhat peculiar form of treatment we have a precedent in the peculiar procedure and repressive measures which have been developed for the treatment of juvenile criminals. Such a distinction between the treatment of ordinary crimes and this peculiar group of offenses has been suggested by the theory of the parallel series of penalties which has received some discussion among Continental criminologists during the past few years. According to this theory the first series of penalties should be applied in the case of crimes where the motive is dishonorable and discreditable and the penalties would therefore be dishonoring. The second series should be applied where the motive is not dishonorable and the penalties would therefore be non-dishonoring. The term public tort has already been applied in some legal jurisdictions to certain of these offenses which we have called quasi-crimes, but the procedure and repressive measures used in dealing with them still remain penal in their character.

THE DRUNKENNESS LAW.

Under the present Massachusetts law any person found drunk in public may be arrested. The question at once arises as to what constitutes drunkenness. According to the opinions of certain judges a person should be staggering to be arrested. For this reason policemen will usually testify that a person was staggering when arrested. Frequently they will also add that his breath smelt strongly of liquor. Judges have their individual criteria according to which they judge drunkenness and the police become acquainted with these and testify accordingly.

THE POWER OF THE POLICE.

The extent to which defendants in cases of drunkenness are helpless before the police must now be evident. A person accused of drunkenness by a policeman is almost certain of being convicted unless he has unusual facilities

for defending himself. Whatever the true circumstances may have been, the policeman is sure to swear that the defendant was drunk and give testimony which he knows the judge will regard as evidence of drunkenness. The judge feels bound to accept his testimony, however much the defendant may deny it, unless there is other evidence to corroborate the statements of the defendant. The judge is put in a very difficult position. He feels that he must take the word of the policeman as against that of the defendant in order to avoid discrediting the police force, however much he may want to be just to the defendant. This is in spite of the fact that policemen are notoriously untruthful. The proof of drunkenness does not depend upon certain acts having been committed as is the case with most crimes. It depends rather upon the existence of a certain state of being. It is therefore difficult to contradict the testimony of the policeman by bringing circumstantial evidence to disprove it. He may say that the defendant staggered, but it is frequently a matter of opinion as to whether a man's gait is sufficiently unsteady to be called staggering. Furthermore, this unsteadiness may be caused by something other than heavy drinking, as, for example, illness. The policeman may say that the man's breath smelt strongly of liquor and it may be that his breath did smell of liquor but whether strongly or not would be a matter of opinion.

These facts show the great power of the police in cases of drunkenness. This power is increased by the fact that most drunkenness cases are prosecuted by policemen because a prosecuting attorney rarely ever appears in a lower criminal court. This is a vicious system because it places the policeman in a very false position. He is at the same time the prosecutor and the principal witness against the defendant. As the prosecutor he has every reason for wanting to secure the conviction of the defendant, and his testimony will therefore be strongly biased against the defendant. His testimony is sufficiently partial at best without increasing its partiality against the defendant by making him prosecutor.

THE POLICY OF THE JUDGES.

The policy of the judges has a good deal of effect upon the conduct of the police. If a judge is pretty sure to find a defendant guilty and to inflict a severe penalty the police are much more active in making arrests. On the other hand, if a judge is liable to acquit and is lenient in inflicting penalties the police do not think it worth while to make so many arrests and are much less active.

Judges vary a good deal in the severity of their sentences. The tendency is for the older judges to be more severe than the younger ones. The younger ones show leniency in many cases because of their greater impressionability and also because they are aware of the present tendency towards greater leniency. The older ones follow fixed rules which have become for them matters of habit.

FINES.

We have seen in table III that a fine without imprisonment is the penalty most frequently inflicted in cases of drunkenness. Until very recently inability to pay a fine invariably resulted in imprisonment. Thus the equivalent for a fine of five dollars is imprisonment for eight days at the House of Correction. Here the prisonkeeper is expected to collect the fine if possible. It is evident that under this system the poor person usually has to suffer imprisonment while the person with some money gets off free. This is a very unjust discrimination against the poor man and one which causes a great deal of harm to him and to those connected with him. In many of these cases if the man were released he could soon earn enough to pay his fine. For this reason legislation was passed in 1905, which gave the court permission to release a prisoner under the surveillance of the probation officer who is to see that he goes to work and pays the fine as soon as possible. By this method the families of drunkenness would frequently be saved from much suffering while the drunkards themselves would be saved from the degrading associations of a prison, which

we shall discuss a little further on. Unfortunately, however, so far the judges have taken advantage only to a small extent of this new method. During the year 1906 12,286 prisoners who had failed to pay their fines were sent to prison, and of these only 2,602, or about 22 per cent., paid their fines to prisonkeepers.* It is evident that this is a very costly way of collecting fines, for the state has to pay for the commitment, support, and transportation home of the prisoner, while in most cases it fails to get the fine. Furthermore, in many of these cases the prisoner, if released, might be supporting his family in addition to paying his fine.

SHORT SENTENCES.

When, however, the old method of collecting fines is used it results in a short sentence. This aspect, therefore, of imprisonment for the non-payment of fines may be considered in the discussion of short sentences. In the first place it may be noted that the use of short sentences, or of correctional imprisonment as it is frequently called, for the treatment of misdemeanants, has been condemned over and over again by modern criminologists. Reducing the problem to the subject in which we are especially interested, let us see what is the effect of correctional imprisonment upon the drunkard. It is true that during the term of imprisonment he is kept away from drink. It may also result in "getting the liquor out of him," as the saying is, for the time being. But it is not likely that a brief term of imprisonment without any special treatment will result in keeping a drunkard away from drink after he is freed. He may, indeed, drink all the more heavily for having been kept away from it for a time.

THE UTILITY OF IMPRISONMENT.

Before going any further in our consideration of the utility of imprisonment in the treatment of drunkenness we must adopt a classification of drunkards. These may be

*W. F. Spalding—Possibilities of the Probation System, published by the Mass. Prison Association, Boston, 1908.

divided into the two general classes of occasional and habitual drunkards. It may safely be laid down as a general rule that the occasional drunkard should never be sent to prison. We have seen above that imprisonment is little likely to do him any good, while it is almost certain to do him a great deal of harm. Going to prison for the first time he is thrown in with criminals and vicious individuals of all sorts from whom he is sure to learn a great deal that is bad. In many cases this becomes the first step in the career of the "rounder" who returns again and again to prison throughout the rest of his life. This type has been described in the following striking language: "Let no one misunderstand this pitiful wretch—the 'rounder,' physically and morally debauched, is the product of the existing system. He represents the closing act in a moral tragedy, in which society plays the villain in the guise of justice and law, and the poor man is the victim, with the imprisonment of the hitherto respectable first offender for the first official act in the tragedy; the corrupt and compromising associations of the prison, for the second act; tainted reputation and decreased earning capacity, for the third; discouragement and relapse for the fourth, and so on to the end of the miserable business—first moral and then physical death."* Instead of imprisonment there should be brought to bear upon the occasional drunkard all the social agencies which will tend to keep him from becoming drunk again. The most direct of these agencies is the probation system by means of which surveillance can be kept over him and persuasive and coercive means used to keep him from excessive drinking. Some of the indirect agencies we shall discuss further on.

A SCHEME OF TREATMENT.

The first group of habitual drunkards is composed of the rounders whom we have described and who are the product of the present system. When occasional drunkards

*Report of the Advisory Committee on the Penal Aspects of Drunkenness, Boston, 1899, pp. 35-36.

are no longer sent to prison it is to be hoped that this group of drunkards will be eliminated. There will still remain, however, the habitual drunkards with a physiological craving for drink which results in an inebriety which is more or less constant or which returns at periodic intervals. As soon as the habitual character of their inebriety has been discovered they should be sent for an indefinite length of time to an institution, more like a hospital or asylum than a prison, where they will be subjected to examination and to the treatment which will result either in curing them or in demonstrating their incurability. If cured, they can, of course, be released. If incurable they might be released if it were safe to do so. But in most cases such freedom would result in a great deal of injury to themselves and to others because of their uncontrollable taste for alcoholic drinks. It will therefore be necessary to detain them more or less permanently. It has been suggested that a farm colony should be established for them, and this may be the best solution of the problem.

PROCEDURE IN DRUNKENNESS CASES.

We can see now more plainly than ever the importance of making drunkenness a quasi-crime. Or, to say the least, even if it is to be a crime, its treatment should be somewhat different from that of a crime. Let us outline a tentative scheme of procedure to be used in cases of drunkenness. This scheme would, of course, have to be tested in practise before it could be adopted permanently, but it may prove to be suggestive and will serve as a basis for discussion.

From 1891 to 1893 the law gave the police the authority to release persons arrested for drunkenness without order of the court. We do not know why this authority was withdrawn from the police. But it seems to us that the police should have the authority to take drunkards to their homes instead of locking them up, and that this procedure should be used in every possible case. It would hardly be necessary for the policemen even to go through the form

of an arrest, the only thing necessary being a record of the names and addresses of these cases and the date of their safe conduct home for future reference in the cases which prove to be habitual drunkards. It may be that this will prove to be a power which will be abused by the police, and in that case safeguards will have to be placed about it. We have no data upon which to judge of this at present. If, however, the drunkard has no home, is too helpless to be taken home, or is known to the policeman to be a habitual drunkard, it will become necessary for the policeman to take him to the station house, there to be kept for a few hours or over night. When he is sufficiently sobered up the authority can now be exercised, which has already been given the probation officer, of releasing him from the station house, if it is the first arrest within a stated interval. This authority might also be extended to a certain extent to the police officials. If, however, he has been arrested several times at too frequent intervals, it will be necessary to hold him to appear as soon as possible before a judge. After a careful examination by the judge he may be put on probation with the addition, if it seems advisable, of a fine to be collected by the probation officer. Then every resource of the probation system and every other available agency should be used to prevent this individual from becoming an habitual drunkard. If, however, in course of time every such agency fails the judge should direct that an examination be made by a competent medical expert. In some cases it will be found that the habitual drinking arises out of some organic or nervous disease which requires treatment in a special institution. But as a rule it will be found that the inebriety arises out of this physiological craving for alcoholic drinks which has been described, and the drunkard will have to be sent for an indefinite period of time to an asylum for inebriates where every effort will be made to cure him. As we have already stated, if he is cured he can be released; if he is proved to be incurable he will, as a rule, have to be detained more or less permanently in a farm colony or similar institution.

ELIMINATION OF THE INEBRIATE.

This scheme of treatment for the inebriate which we have briefly outlined would be much more effective than the existing system for suppressing inebriety in the present. But it would also do a great deal towards preventing inebriety in the future. It will be noted that the system we have proposed is a sifting process, by means of which are sifted out those who by reason of a profound craving for alcoholic drinks are incurable inebriates. By eliminating these inebriates from society they are prevented from propagating themselves and thus in course of time this type of inebriate would be eliminated from society. This may seem a very drastic measure, but it has been advocated by the Mayor's Committee on the Penal Aspects of Drunkenness in the following words: "For the great majority of this group (confirmed inebriates), including the 'rounders' and incorrigibles who infest our public institutions, permanent detention under an indeterminate sentence, and under conditions which protect them and society from further degradation is the only logical treatment. However reluctant public opinion may be to sanction such heroic treatment, it must not be forgotten that there is in every great community a residual group of incurables and incorrigibles calling for special and systematic treatment, in their own interest no less than in the interest of society. Individual welfare and social welfare, individual justice and social justice, unite in demanding that the unfortunate who has lost the power of self-control shall be protected against his own degrading weakness, and that society shall be relieved in part of the danger and the contagion of his example and the hereditary transmission of weakness to pauperize and degenerate children. Such ends a monastic regime of wholesome discipline, labor, recreation and improvement can alone accomplish."*

ALCOHOLIC SELECTION.

It is, in fact, the natural tendency of alcohol to elim-

*City Document, 158, 1899.

mate the type which has a craving for alcohol by killing off the individuals who represent this type. The function thus performed by alcohol has been described by Archdall Reid, a distinguished English writer on heredity and alcoholism, in the following words: "Since alcohol weeds out enormous numbers of people of a particular type, it is a stringent agent of selection—an agent of selection more stringent than any one disease. Many diseases have been the cause of great and manifest evolution. It follows that alcohol which has been used by many races for thousands of years should be the cause of an evolution at least as great as that which has been caused by any one disease."*

Many attempts have been made to check inebriety by eliminating alcoholic drinks, most of which attempts have failed. This natural function performed by alcohol makes much more hopeful of success the method of checking inebriety by eliminating the inebriate which we have proposed. "It is in our power by copying Nature, by eliminating not drink but the excessive drinker, by substituting artificial for natural selection, to obviate much of the misery incident with the latter, and thus speedily to evolve a sober race."†

PREPARATION FOR THE NEW SCHEME OF TREATMENT.

This scheme of treatment for inebriates which we have outlined is already foreshadowed in the existing system. Probation officers already have the authority to release from the station house and, as our third table shows, during the year ending September 30, 1907, this method was used in 35.9 per cent. of the cases. When we add to this 9.0 per cent. who were placed on file or dismissed before trial, 0.7 per cent. who were released by the court without arraignment, 12.4 per cent. who were placed on file or dismissed after trial, 6.9 per cent who were placed on probation, and 0.6 per cent whose sentences were suspended, we have 65.5 per cent

*G. Archdall Reid—*Alcoholism*, London, 1901, p. 86.

†G. Archdall Reid—*Op. cit.*, p. 167.

of the cases which were disposed of without fine or imprisonment. Our system will increase this number by treating all occasional drunkards by similar methods. On the other hand, habitual drunkards will be dealt with by much more rigid methods than at present.

In the State Asylum for Inebriates at Foxborough we see the prototype of such an institution for the treatment of inebriety as we have suggested. In an interview with the president of the board of trustees of this asylum the writer outlined the scheme of treatment described above and was told that this board had a similar scheme in view. Furthermore, this scheme of treatment which was developed quite independently by the writer, had already been suggested in part in 1899 by the Mayor's Advisory Committee on the Penal Aspects of Drunkenness, as has been indicated by several quotations made from the report of this committee.

INDIRECT MEASURES FOR PREVENTING INEBRIETY.

We have discussed the direct measures for suppressing inebriety by putting restraints on the inebriate. It is without the scope of our investigation to discuss at length the indirect measures for preventing inebriety by making changes in social conditions, so we shall discuss very briefly only a few of these measures which are of special significance in connection with this report.

LACK OF FACILITIES FOR RECREATION.

We have noted that certain of our tables indicate that a lack of facilities for recreation is a frequent cause of inebriety. Certain writers lay special stress on this and similar social causes of inebriety. For example, Rowntree and Sherwell, in their voluminous work on this subject, speak as follows:

"We may single out as effective causes of intemperance:

"(a) The monotony and dullness—too often the active misery—of many lives.

"(b) The absence of adequate provision for social intercourse and healthful recreation.

"(c) Above all, the arrangements under which the sale of alcoholic drinks is placed in the hands of those who seek to stimulate their consumption to the utmost."*

THE AMERICAN SALOON.

The American saloon has frequently been called the "poor man's club," indicating the extent to which it serves as a place of social enjoyment for the poorer classes. It has, however, become so unintentionally, so far as the saloon-keeper is concerned, for his principal object has been to make money by selling as much drink as possible. The bar is, perhaps, the worst feature of the American saloon, because it is the tendency of a man when standing at a bar to drink hastily and therefore to drink a good deal in a comparatively short time. No one who has traveled or resided in Europe can have failed to compare favorably the German beer garden or the French and Italian café with the American saloon. It is customary in these Continental drinking places for the patrons, who include women as well as men, to gather around tables and pass the time in social intercourse, at the same time drinking slowly and therefore, as a rule, moderately. The café has been introduced quite extensively in New York City by the large foreign population, and has unquestionably done something to lessen the amount of excessive drinking. It is uncertain whether any one of these Continental types of drinking places would be successful in a city like Boston, whose population is so largely Hibernian. It is true that there are a good many places in Boston called cafés, but most or all of these places are no more than restaurants and are, therefore, not cafés in the Continental sense of the word.

THE REFORMATION OF THE SALOON.

Something, however, may be done to transform the saloon so as to check its tendency to promote excessive drinking and to increase its facilities for social enjoyment.

*Joseph Rowntree and Arthur Sherwell—The Temperance Problem and Social Reform, New York, 1900, pp. 598-599.

The bar should be eliminated entirely or made very insignificant. The facilities for social enjoyment in the way of chairs, tables, games, newspapers, etc., should be increased. A number of these saloons might be started in the parts of the city inhabited by the poorer classes, with an object partly philanthropic. Such a saloon was started in New York City a few years ago under the name of the "Subway Tavern." The utter failure of this saloon indicated some of the things to be avoided when starting a saloon of this sort. The Subway Tavern was much advertised as a philanthropic enterprise before it was opened. It was opened with public and partly religious exercises which advertised it all the more widely. The result was that it became one of the points at which "Seeing New York" automobiles stopped, and was an object of interest to all tourists. It was not to be expected that men would frequent a place where they became objects of curiosity, so that the Tavern failed to attract the class of patrons for which it was established. The fate of the Subway Tavern indicates that the philanthropic, reformatory motive back of such saloons as we have suggested should be kept entirely secret, or, to say the least, should be little advertised. Furthermore, the changes made should not be so great as to drive away the ordinary saloon patronage.

If a number of such saloons could be successful they might force saloons in general to adopt these changes, so that in this way the saloon would be reformed. This reformed type of saloon would, to be sure, still enable those unfortunate beings who are born with a craving for alcoholic drinks to drink excessively, and by passing through the different stages of the repressive system we have outlined they would finally arrive at the institution where they would be eliminated more or less permanently from society. On the other hand, this type of saloon would not offer the inducements to drink excessively now offered by the existing saloon to the man without a natural tendency to drink.

RECREATION FACILITIES FOR BOYS.

But not only should facilities for recreation be given to those who are now old enough to be inebriates, but also to the minors who may become inebriates in the near future. Many boys are arraigned in the municipal courts charged with being idle and disorderly. In the course of our investigation this seemed to be most noticeable in South Boston. These boys being out of work either because they cannot find work or because they do not want work, hang out on street corners in gangs and very soon get into mischief. In course of time the police bring these boys into court on this charge. Among other things the policeman usually testifies that these boys get drunk more or less frequently, which is quite credible in some of these cases. Many of these boys start drinking in this way during periods of idleness. It seems to be very easy at present for these minors to get drunk. Some of them told the writer that they bought it for themselves, no questions as to age having been asked in the saloons. Others secure it through older persons who buy it for them. These boys if sent away are committed to the House of Correction. But this is a remedy of doubtful value, since as a rule they get more ill than good there. There should be some way of getting work for these boys, either by means of the probation system or through some other agency, in order to keep them out of mischief. There should also be some place of recreation where they could pass the time when out of work or after work is over. The city and the settlements have done something to provide such places in the way of gymnasiums and clubrooms, but much more still remains to be done. And last of all there should be a better place than the House of Correction to which these boys could be sent when it becomes absolutely necessary to send them away.

THE QUALITY OF LIQUOR.

It did not enter into the scope of our investigation to inspect the quality of liquor sold, but we have reason to

believe that this quality is frequently very bad. The breath of many of those arrested for drunkenness has a vile odor, which indicates that they have been drinking a very poor quality of whiskey. The odor frequently is quite strong even after a night has passed since they have been drinking. It is usually only the poorest drunkards who have this vile odor about them. There should be a system of public inspection which will insure the sale of a good quality of liquor in all saloons.

PUBLIC SUPERVISION OF THE SALE OF LIQUOR.

Public supervision of the sale of liquor has frequently been advocated and has been tried a number of times, as, for example, in the case of the Gothenburg system in Scandinavia. It is, however, without the scope of our investigation, and we speak of it only in passing. Reference may be made to the large body of literature on this subject. The suggestion we have made is much less drastic and radical than public supervision, namely, a private attempt to reform the saloon so as to check its tendency to promote excessive drinking.

ORGANIZATION FOR THE PREVENTION OF INEBRIETY.

There is at present in Boston a notable lack of organization and correlation among the forces which work for the prevention of inebriety. All of the philanthropic agencies and some of the public agencies are interested in this work and are desirous of helping it, but most of them are uncertain what to do. It may be advisable to form an organization which will inaugurate a vigorous campaign against inebriety in which all these agencies will be utilized. This organization could be modeled after organizations which now exist in Boston and in other cities for the prevention of tuberculosis, child labor, etc. It should, in the first place, gather all possible information, on the one hand, with regard to the nature and extent of inebriety in Boston, and, on

the other hand, with regard to possible remedies. With this information as a basis it should adopt a program of reform and then proceed to put this program into effect. It is quite probable that by means of such an organization the most can be accomplished for the prevention of inebriety.

Certain it is that such a campaign for the prevention of inebriety is badly needed in Boston, in the first place, on account of the large amount of inebriety. It is a well-known fact that inebriety in Boston is much greater proportionately than in most cities. This is indicated by the large number of arrests for drunkenness, though this fact alone would not be absolute proof. It is indicated by the large number of drunken persons to be seen on the streets at all times of day as well as of night and in most parts of the city. Furthermore, inebriety in Boston is of a very depressing sort. It is much more depressing, for example, than it is in New York, because in Boston it seems to be so inevitable and so indigenous. In New York inebriety grows to a considerable extent out of conditions which are somewhat abnormal, such as the overcrowded condition of the city, the many places of pleasure offering inducements to drinking, etc. The Bowery typifies inebriety in New York, but the Bowery is not an inevitable thing, and, as a matter of fact, is rapidly changing its character. In Boston, on the contrary, inebriety comes from the homes of the people and flourishes in many of the residential districts. The population is not so foreign, there is little or no overcrowding, and there are relatively fewer places of pleasure which stimulate drinking, and yet there is undoubtedly much more inebriety in Boston in proportion to its size than in New York.

It is, therefore, on account of the magnitude and the gravity of the problem of inebriety in Boston that we are urging the need of concerted action for its prevention.

VITA.

The writer, Maurice Farr Parmelee, prepared for college at the Vernon (N. Y.) High School and the Oberlin (Ohio) Academy. He received from Yale University the degrees of Bachelor of Arts in 1904, and of Master of Arts in 1908.

From 1904 to 1905 he held a fellowship at the University Settlement of New York, and did probation work in the criminal courts of New York City. In September, 1905, he matriculated in the School of Political Science of Columbia University, but after six weeks was forced to give up his studies. From 1905 to 1906 he was Statistician to the New York Board of Water Supply.

From 1906 to 1907 he was in Europe executing a study which he had conceived and planned while a probation officer, namely, a study of the applications of criminal anthropology and sociology to criminal procedure. He spent nine months in Paris, ten weeks in London and several months traveling while gathering the necessary data for this study. After returning from Europe he completed a book entitled, "The Principles of Anthropology and Sociology in Their Relations to Criminal Procedure," which was published in 1908 by the Macmillan Company in the "Citizens' Library of Economics, Politics and Sociology," edited by Professor Richard T. Ely, of the University of Wisconsin. Yale gave the writer a master's degree in recognition of this book, and it is now being used as a textbook in several universities.

From 1907 to 1908 he conducted an investigation of inebriety in Boston for the Russell Sage Foundation, under the auspices of the Boston School for Social Workers.

From 1908 to 1909 he has been a student in the School of Political Science of Columbia University, taking courses in sociology under Professor Franklin H. Giddings; in economics, under Professor John B. Clark, and in anthropology, under Professor Livingston Farrand, and has been a member of Professor Giddings' general and special seminars in sociology. He is a member of the American Economic Association, American Sociological Society and American Statistical Association.

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